

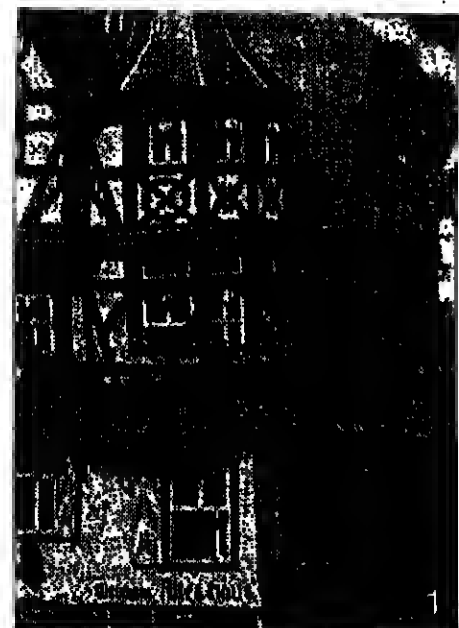
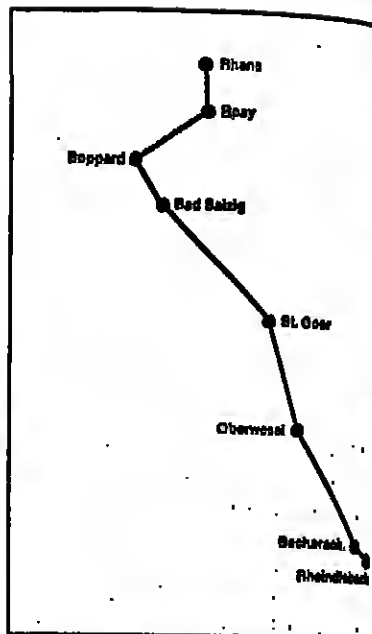
# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Rheingold Route

German roads will get you there — to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of whet, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes. For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to

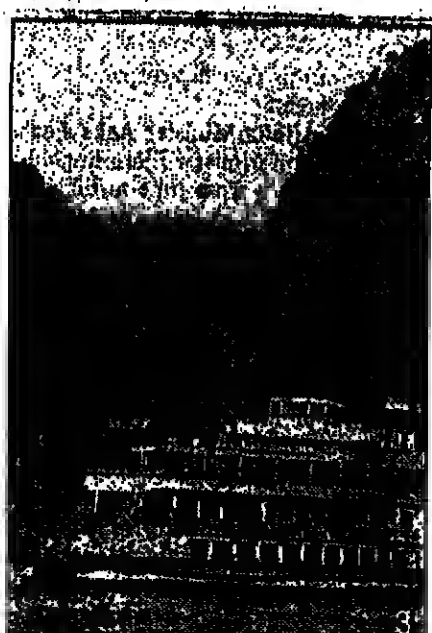
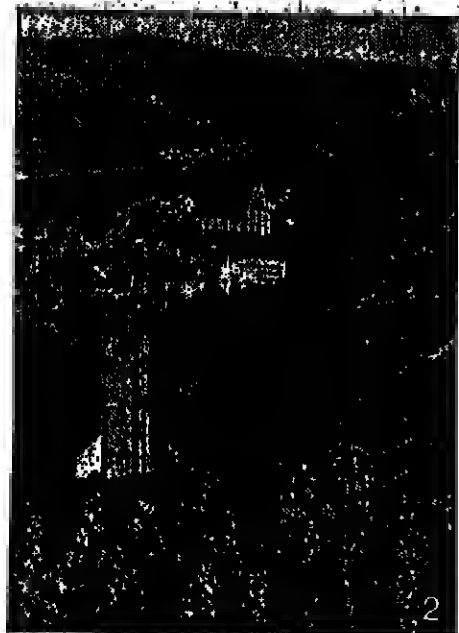
Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St. Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide!



1. Bacharach
2. Oberwesel
3. The Loreley Rock
4. Boppard
5. Stolzenfels Castle

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# The German Tribune

Nürnberg, 22 August 1982  
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## Beirut siege unlikely to remove conundrum



Will Mr. Begin have got what he wants when the PLO leader, Mr. Amr, leaves Beirut for Syria or some Arab state and his forces quit the western half of the Lebanese single file?

Hard to avoid reaching the conclusion that Israel's Lebanese campaign has created more problems than it has solved.

Mr. Amr moves to Damascus and 6,000 to 8,000 guerrilla fighters are left out between Syria, Jordan and Iraq. What will then have changed in the situation?

The suffering, bomb-scorched Beirut is anything but a sovereign government. It would be a PLO fighters' state by any stretch of the imagination.

The Palestinian problem, which would need to be found a solution, is a million people in the refugee camps around the Lebanese capital. The existing arrangements can be expected to remain valid in the wake of the current campaign.

In the south of the country tens of thousands of Palestinian civilians live under Israeli occupation and must feel hopeless and helpless than ever, assuming further deterioration is not in the cards.

The Israeli leaders have made it clear that as far as they are concerned their troops will be staying in Lebanon until winter and as far north as Beirut.

Israel and the United States may repeatedly say that what they want is a strong Lebanese government, but how is one to take shape as long as Israel is in effect running the country?

How can a strong central government emerge in Beirut as long as the Lebanese are saddled with a share of the Palestinian problem?

There can be no guarantee of the Arabs remaining for all time as weak as they are at present.

Regardless, whether, and when the Palestinians reorganise, militarily in their countries of exile, the idea of a homeland in which they can give full expression to their national identity, as the Jews are able to do in Israel, cannot be eradicated by bombs.

It is an idea that must be pursued further politically, and Egypt for one will make sure it is. The Camp David agreement is a start.

start from scratch again, always assuming Israel allows it to.

In northern and eastern Lebanon, as agreed with the Lebanese authorities, Syrian troops under the aegis of a pan-Arab peace force are still stationed.

This arrangement will likewise need reappraisal, and although little is known for sure about this part of the country several thousand PLO fighters seem sure to be there to stay.

They are said to be based near Tripoli and in the Bekaa plateau and will, as matters stand, still be in Lebanon when their comrades-in-arms have left Beirut.

The Syrians claim to be in Lebanon by the term of an Arab League mandate, although the mandate has expired, and are only prepared to leave Lebanon if the Israeli forces withdraw at the same time.

The Israelis, who undeniably have the upper hand at present, insist on all alien forces other than those expressly empowered by Beirut leaving the country before Israeli forces withdraw to their own territory.

That could take months, during which Israel will continue to make itself at home in southern Lebanon, imposing on the Lebanese the Israeli administrative, banking and commercial system and systematically extending the sphere of influence of Major Haddad, its Lebanese militia leader.

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Israel and the United States may repeatedly say that what they want is a strong Lebanese government, but how is one to take shape as long as Israel is in effect running the country?

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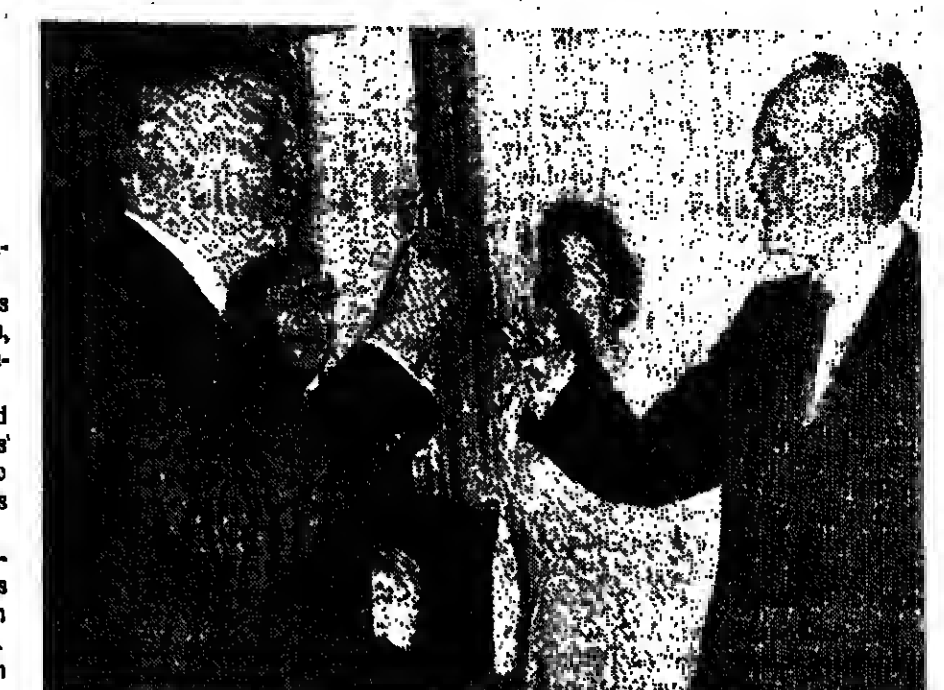
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## A Swiss greeting

Bonn President Karl Caratana (right) exchanges toasts with Swiss head of state Fritz Honnaggar during an official visit to Bonn. In the background are Frau Veronika Caratana and Swiss Justice and Police Minister Kurt Furgler. (Photo: dpa)

tinian problem that is more than they can reasonably be expected to handle?

Premier Begin and Defence Minister Shimon Peres may claim that the expulsion of Mr. Amr and his PLO units from Beirut will rid them of the Palestinian problem. They are mistaken.

Mr. Begin's hopes that there will be a biblical 40 years of peace on Israel's borders after the PLO has been effectively put out of action once and for all are illusory.

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## Argentina: some questions still to be answered

The European Community has been trying to renew ties with Argentina since the Falklands war.

Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo went to Buenos Aires, an appropriate move because Italy lifted economic sanctions before the Falklands fighting was over.

Amid this process of cautious rapprochement France has lifted the arms embargo on Argentina, which has been good news for the Argentine armed forces.

France is their supplier of modern naval fighters and also of Exocet missiles. They can be fired from

both ships and aircraft and were used to devastating effect in the Falklands.

Since even a socialist France has maintained a largely unrestricted arms export policy governed mainly by economic considerations, Paris was likely to lift the embargo soon.

But the thing was unfortunate. It put Argentina in a position to call on other Common Market countries to remove arms export restrictions before national trade ties are resumed.

France has already done so, the Argentines can argue, which will put the Federal Republic of Germany in particular on the spot.

German arms manufacturers have helped the Argentine armed forces design a lightweight tank the Argentines are now offering for sale to countries affected by the German export restrictions.

When fighting broke out in the South Atlantic, frigates for the Argentine navy were being fitted out at a Hamburg shipyard that supplied the know-how for the construction of corvettes at Argentine yards.

There can be no doubt that by the terms of Bonn's arms export restrictions Argentina would have to give better assurances there will be no repetition of the Falklands adventure before the embargo could be lifted.

Otherwise Bonn could hardly refuse permission for other arms orders from countries in other parts of the world without risking foreign policy repercussions.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 August 1982)



## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Arms talks: reconciling the irreconcilable

Never have delegations at an East-West disarmament and arms control conference got down to brass tacks as fast as at the Geneva talks on intermediate-range nuclear force reductions in Europe.

Both sides have submitted their initial positions in the form of treaty drafts, complete with detailed explanations. Both know how difficult the subject is and realise what problems will need to be solved before results can be achieved.

There are not many problems, but those that do exist seem to be irreconcilable. The Americans and Russians are publicly accusing each other of not wanting to negotiate seriously.

The two sides' negotiating positions in Geneva are:

● The United States says the Soviet Union enjoys an overwhelming advantage, a six-to-one lead, in medium-range missiles in Europe.

The Americans want first to discuss land-based missiles only and propose a complete and total renunciation of both Soviet SS-20s, SS-40s and SS-5s and Western missile modernisation scheduled to start in autumn 1983.

They use warheads as a realistic unit of account, want to negotiate on US and Soviet missiles only and call for agreements reached to be as verifiable as possible.

● The Soviet Union says there is an approximate balance between NATO and the USSR in medium-range missiles, but Russia has declared that it is ready to negotiate on all kinds of intermediate-range nuclear forces, aimed at targets in Europe.

In practice all that Russians have so far proposed is a two-stage plan to reduce the 1,000 systems that are said to exist on each side to 600 each by 1985 and 300 each by 1990.

But they merely list the carriers and equate air-, sea- and land-based systems. Soviet Asia is not included, but British and French nuclear weapons are, while Moscow is only prepared to permit limited verification.

The US proposal of a zero solution in the missile sector has the advantage of concentrating on a limited sector that both sides consider particularly dangerous, leaving other weapon systems to be dealt with at later talks.

The Soviet plan is based on gross mathematical inaccuracies, compares the incomparable and includes a succession of obvious pitfalls.

By the terms of the Russian proposals there would be 263 British and French nuclear carrier weapons in Europe from 1990, including nuclear submarine missiles covered by Salt 2.

That would leave a mere 37 missile systems for the United States, whereas the Soviet Union would be entitled to retain its entire stock of SS-20s.

The Soviet missiles would have a much larger number of warheads, over 900, than the Western systems, and Russia would also have its missiles based beyond the Urals.

The unacceptable objective of the Soviet proposal is to force America virtually out of Europe in nuclear terms, to destroy the NATO strategy of flexible response and to decouple the United States

from the defence of Western Europe.

Without US nuclear backing the defence of Western Europe could no longer be guaranteed.

The West has naturally given consideration to how the US negotiating position might be further developed, and four options seem possible:

● The zero-plus solution, which would allow both sides to retain some of their medium-range missiles. This would presuppose a partial missile modernisation by the West.

● The extension of negotiations to other carriers, especially aircraft. This would make it possible for both sides to adopt a more flexible approach to the talks, but it would also make the overall issues even more complicated.

● Inclusion of the British and French nuclear deterrent. This is little more than a theoretical possibility, since neither London nor Paris would be prepared to accept it.

● Incorporation of intermediate-range nuclear forces in the Salt talks. Given the large number of warheads (the US proposal is for limitation to 5,000 each) involved, this would make the problem of Eurostrategic weapons seem much more manageable.

All four ideas have their drawbacks. The first would not eliminate the Soviet Union's dangerous SS-20 arsenal and even increase the Western nuclear arsenal in Europe.

Objections to the second have been raised by NATO brasshats who say that

The OAU is at death's door. Now the Tripoli OAU summit, which was to have been held in the Libyan capital early in August, has been frustrated by a clash over the status of West Sahara and no one has any idea what will happen next.

A group of African countries led by Morocco boycotted the Tripoli summit, which thereupon failed to reach a quorum, because they refused to recognise the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic proclaimed by Polisario.

A five-member contact group, consisting of Congo, Libya, Mali, Tanzania and Zambia, is to try and arrange for a fresh summit, to be held within three months.

But it is doubtful whether the OAU on its deathbed can be helped by any attempts at resuscitation whatever.

The Organisation of African Unity was launched in 1963 with great enthusiasm, but for years it has been more reflective of African disunity, fostered between the millstones of national egoism and superpower influence.

As for the bone of contention, the OAU membership of the Sahara Republic, which was admitted to the organisation in February, the setback is undeniable.

What does the Polisario state stand to gain from membership of an organisation the days of which are numbered?

US diplomatic pressure and Saudi Arabian money have each played their part in engineering the failure of the Tripoli summit.

Since the Reagan administration took office Washington has firmly backed the Moroccan card in North Africa,

air forces in being are indispensable for conventional defence purposes.

The third would ensure in writing, as it were, that the Soviet Union enjoyed nuclear superiority over the United States inasmuch as the nuclear potential of their respective allies would first have to be taken into consideration.

The fourth, linkage with Start and long-term US proposals in respect of intercontinental missiles, would take much longer and make a start to missile modernisation virtually inevitable.

The idea of total denuclearisation in the intermediate-range sector, which would clearly be the least complicated solution, has so far played no part.

The main objection to this idea in the West is that a renunciation of nuclear weapons on board aircraft cannot be satisfactorily verified.

Besides, there are no signs yet of the slightest readiness on Moscow's part to renounce its intermediate-range nuclear potential aimed at targets in China.

A level-headed view of the negotiating position shows that there is little cause for optimism at the moment, and the West has little reason to change its current position as long as the Soviet Union retains its unrealistic starting point.

Russia seems as determined as ever to first see whether the stationing of 372 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe will prove politically possible. If so, progress in Geneva need not be expected until Soviet hopes have been dashed and the West's first new weapon systems are deployed in autumn 1983.

The Kremlin is not running much of a risk in deciding to wait and see. Western missile modernisation will take an estimated five years in all.

In terms of time, the pressure on the West is much higher. *Wolf J. Bell*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 12 August 1982)

## OAU members wait for the next move

which as Assistant US Defence Secretary Wolfowitz has put it, is a vital strategic zone.

The United States feels it must at all cost avert a political defeat of King Hassan of Morocco, who in 1975 occupied the former Spanish Sahara and has since waged a costly desert war against Polisario guerrillas backed by Algeria and Libya.

The entire summit conference had to be torpedoed to make sure the Polisario republic was unable to make its OAU summit debut in Tripoli.

The summit was torpedoed, making the Sahara conflict, which was originally merely regional in character, part of a new Cold War once and for all.

The Sahara problem was not the only factor contributing to the Tripoli fiasco. Many Africans dislike Colonel Gaddafi, the Libyan host.

This sentiment is carefully nurtured by the United States, which views the Libyan leader as an archetype world enemy.

A number of African governments have a bone to pick with Colonel Gaddafi because he is regarded as a meddling in other countries' domestic affairs.

They were not prepared to allow him to hold an OAU conference of his own, which would automatically have entitled him to chairmanship of the organisation for the next year.

## Namibia death toll rises as war goes on

The South African invasion of Angola to deal with Swapo guerrillas saw the spotlight away from the Middle East and back to an almost forgotten war.

In the worst fighting for a long time, 314 guerrillas and 15 South Africans were reported to have been killed at the end of writing, adding to the long list of victims of what is a war in still but name.

The number of Swapo fighters is over the past year must be well over 2,000, and figures of this kind tend to ignore civilian casualties entirely.

Yet who is a civilian and who is a fighter in this context? The distinction is probably as imperceptible as in the besieged Beirut.

For years the future has been seen in a country that was once a colony and is called South-West Africa by the South Africans who administer it and Namibia by the United Nations.

It is a war on two fronts, relying on both political means and force of arms to ensure the independence of Namibia once and for all.

News of the fighting in Angola is quick to hit the headlines; behind the scenes politicians had worked for months with some success.

The governments of South Africa and the black African front-line states have conferred. So have representatives of the Namibian political parties and moderate internal wing of Swapo.

Representatives of the five southern Western contact group on Namibia met in the Hague last week.

Continued on page 9

French diplomats sought in vain to salvage the Tripoli summit and OAU. Paris argued that the OAU's intra-African forum provided little opportunities of dialogue that could not be forfeited given the many differences of viewpoint in the continent.

If they were, the argument continues, Africa would undergo an even more extreme polarisation of intra-African interests and become a mere playing field for the great powers.

But France's closest friends in Africa, including Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Gabon and others, left Morocco in the lurch.

It was a sad setback for the Polisario leader and a bitter blow for his loyal bid to keep Africa and the Third World out of the conflict between superpowers.

Jürgen W. Müller  
(Der Tagesspiegel, 13 August 1982)

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## HOME AFFAIRS

## SPD's fading claim to be the sole party of the working man

The collar workers now are about equally divided in their political preferences: as many would vote conservative as SPD.

A few years ago, this sort of statistic would have been unthinkable. But over the past couple of years, most of the tar-iffed have given the CDU a majority.

The latest polls say that 46 per cent of the voters asked would vote SPD and 44 per cent the CDU/CSU.

It raises the question of whether the traditional party of labour, the SPD

## Genscher looks to the future

Hans-Dietrich Genscher has made it clear that he is ready to settle it.

Like last year, when his call for a "new point" ushered in the tug-of-war over the budget between his party and the SPD, he now keeps speaking of the "new majority".

The FDP chairman wants to bring about a shift of power in Hesse from the SPD to the CDU and a "new majority" there. Why?

Genscher says: "For a future-oriented economic policy, a policy that will create jobs and thus do justice to the people's objective of German domestic policy in the 1980s."

In his inimitable manner, Genscher makes it clear that a change in Hesse would also be decisive for "a new free-orientation free-enterprise policy in the state".

He has frequently been assumed that Genscher will seek a new coalition with the FDP only after the elections have appointed the change in Hesse.

Would the Free Democrats fail to win the five per cent hurdle there, some Genscher will regard the experiment as a failure and announce his resignation as FDP party chairman at the national congress in November. But this

fact is probably that a failure of the FDP's first change of horses in the state would make it harder for the FDP chairman to capture a majority on the national plane just as a success of the FDP experiment would make it easier for the Liberals in Bonn to follow suit.

Genscher would not be the tactician he is if he allowed his national ambitions to depend only on victory in Hesse.

Other way, the November party congress will be the last possibility for the FDP to switch from the SPD to the CDU in Bonn as well. Genscher will not make a majority decision.

There are loud warnings from the left wingers, and the Freiburg Circle is going out of its way to make it as difficult as possible to leave the coalition with the SPD; but Genscher is rational.

A national initiative under the slogan "Solidarity with Genscher" is in full swing and fairly successful nation-wide. Genscher's image and popularity are intact and there is no opposing candidate who could match him.

Peter Hopfen

(Bremser Nachrichten, 7 August 1982)

can still claim to represent working people.

The change has been swift. Not quite two years ago, only a couple of months before the general election, close to 60 per cent of the working class said they would vote SPD.

Economic developments have been important. The continuing slump has armed the government parties in Bonn. Confidence in the SPD's ability to get the economy back on its feet is ebbing and growing joblessness is further fuelling disenchantment and uncertainty.

Even those who are not convinced that things would improve under a conservative government feel that it is at least worth a try.

The slump is, however, not the only reason. Some months ago, an SPD report came up with a statement that should have alarmed the party.

Skilled workers, it said, still accounted for 29 per cent of SPD party members. And even their ratio of party officials on a municipal level was 27 per cent and hence fairly satisfactory.

But in the sub-districts, workers held only 7.5 per cent of party posts.

On the other hand statistics showed that 35 per cent of the card-carrying members were employed in the public sector; and these 35 per cent accounted for half the party posts in municipal chambers and 75 per cent of the posts in the sub-districts.

At the next higher level, marking the transition to politics as a career, they were even more heavily represented.

There are some simple explanations for this: Since the end of the 1960s (and particularly during the reform era under Chancellor Willy Brandt), the SPD attracted young intellectuals in droves, many of whom became civil servants.

The SPD has arranged an international start to its campaign for the Hesse Land election next month.

The election is an important one for the SPD, which has held office for more than 30 years in Hesse. The party's national business manager, Peter Giotz, said that it will be "a decisive crossroads" for the Bonn government.

When the campaign begins at Wiesbaden this month with a rally, the visitors will include the Greek Prime Ministers, Andreas Papandreu; singer and actress Merilna Mercouri, who is also the Greek Minister of Cultural Affairs; President Sorsa of Finland; Spanish socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez; Denmark's Prime Minister, Anka Jørgensen, a close friend of Chancellor Schmidt; and French Planning Minister Michel Rocard.

It is hoped that this will help demonstrate Chancellor Schmidt's high international standing and drive home the need for this to be backed up at the polls.

But the chances are slim. Holger Börner's SPD in Hesse is fighting a rear-guard action against the CDU, the FDP and the Greens.

Its share of the vote is now estimated at between 34 and 36 per cent at best. It is unlikely that Giotz himself believes that the election can be won.

Herr Börner and his team have been

Being government officials or public sector employees, they found it much easier than the rest of the working population to make a party career.

As a rule, these people are more eloquent and, above all, they do not risk their jobs if they spend a lot of time on politics.

Even those who go into politics full-time can at any time return to their civil service jobs without disadvantage.

This shift in occupational origins in the party hierarchy has fundamentally changed the SPD.

Anybody trying to find an SPD delegate with calloused hands at national party congresses would have a hard time.

What predominates is no longer the "working class" but a caste of well-dressed men and women. It is obvious at a glance that they are either university teachers or held some desk job.

The term "labour party" clearly no longer applies. The Social Democrats are essentially a party of intellectuals, most of them in the civil service.

In addition the working class itself has changed. Kurt Biedenkopf hit the nail of the head when he said: "The little man is a big fellow now."

What this boils down to is that the SPD — and the trade unions — have become the victims of their own success, so to speak.

Their policy has greatly contributed towards making the worker in general and the skilled worker in particular no longer consider himself as part of the proletariat.

The worker of today has increasingly acquired habits and thought patterns that used to be considered typically bourgeois.

On the other hand, the swelling of the ranks of intellectuals within the SPD

has also had an effect on the party's political attitudes.

For one thing, academics are by nature more flexible intellectually. They tend to seize upon new ideas instantly because of their innate concern that they could one day no longer be the spearhead of progress.

Trends opposing economic growth on principle were unthinkable at a time when the working class determined SPD policy. Today, part of the SPD regards the Greens as natural allies, no matter what the voters think about it. It is hard to say where this will lead.

The fact that a Social Democrat was at the head of the Bonn government has long forced the SPD to pull itself together. But gradually it is heading towards a point when the opposite will hold true: decisions that have to be made by the government aggravate the friction within the SPD camp.

Yet it is unlikely that what many regard as the cleanest solution — a split in the Social Democrats — will happen. Instead, there is every likelihood that

the dogged tug-of-war between various groups over the party course will continue.

The working class faction plays a major role. And it is anything but good for the SPD that this faction has shrunk.

Even so, it would be wrong to underestimate that faction's strength. This is the spearhead of the party, the very core that has shaped its history and policy to date.

The fact that the working class accounts for an ever smaller portion of the population must be no reason for the SPD to slide up it.

Unless the Social Democrats pick up the cudgels on behalf of the workers and bring them back into the fold, they will become a different party.

Wolfgang Wagner  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 August 1982)

## A star-studded start to poll campaign

on the brink of going into opposition since the SPD announced in June that it would leave the coalition and fight the election with the CDU.

Hesse SPD will not try to outflank the Greens, unlike the Hamburg party. "Even after the election, any cooperation with the Greens is absolutely out of the question," says Hesse SPD manager Paul Leo Glan.

But what will be the SPD's attitude towards the renegade FDP in the election?

"We won't treat them with kid gloves. But with its six per cent of the popular vote, the FDP cannot be our main opponent. It only plays third or even fourth fiddle. Our main opponent is the CDU and Alfred Dregger," Giotz said.

The Bonn FDP was cautiously greeted at Giotz's unexpectedly mild tone. Said a Genscher aide: "If this is meant as an appeal to the whole of the SPD not to hit below the belt in the forthcoming campaign, we can only welcome it."

Jochim Stollenberg  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 August 1982)



## ■ THE EEC

## Bonn's grand plan for Europarlament gets a dose of cold water

The much-vaunted Bonn plan for developing the idea of European Union with a central role for the European Parliament has been watered down.

Bonn's plan was backed by the Italian government, but the *Frankfurter Rundschau* has learned that, as negotiations stand, all passages giving more influence to the Parliament in developing European Union have been deleted from the text.

Some member nations would like to Genscher-Colombo initiative eliminated altogether and replaced by something else.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher deliberately chose the European Parliament last November as the forum in which to explain his "European Act". The gesture was intended to emphasise the central role of the European Parliament in developing the European Union, as Genscher put it at the time, asking the Euro-MPs for their active support.

Theo, a draft of the European Act and a statement on economic integration, worked out by the governments of Bonn and Rome, were forwarded to the other Community governments and the EEC Commission in Brussels.

The Council of Europe, presided over by Britain, met in London that same month and forwarded the draft to subordinate Community bodies for deliberation.

But since the first half of this year, when the discussion of the draft progressed under the Belgian EEC presidency, it has appeared likely that the European Parliament will not play a major role. The intention of the draft was to have the European Parliament deal with all issues concerning the Union — a practice that is already in effect to all intents and purposes.

The European Parliament was to present recommendations to the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the Council of Europe, for comment.

The draft, to become an eventual European Act, was also supposed to have contained provisions whereby each Council president would have to keep the European Parliament's political committee informed on all foreign policy cooperation of the Ten under the European Political Cooperation system (EPC).

Parliament's president was to have been consulted on the appointment of the Commission president.

The draft also provided for a debate on the Commission's programme.

Parliament was also to be consulted on all Community legal acts of general importance that would involve cash payouts.

Finally, the European Parliament was to be consulted about new membership or association and EEC treaties with non-member nations.

These proposals were not exactly far-reaching considering that although the European Parliament gained its mandate in direct elections it has no genuine legislative powers.

At present, most delegations endorse a text that only states that "the European Parliament must participate in the development of the European Union and be in a position to exercise the necessary control function."

Quisby by Euro-MPs may not exceed the limited authority vested in them by treaty. In fact, several of the member states refuse to give the Euro-MPs any right to question the European Council (consisting of the heads of government) although this body is defined as the executive branch of the Union.

There are also delegations that oppose the Parliament's participation in appointing the Commission president and concluding treaties with non-member states.

The Parliament's legislative function has shrunk to "improving the cooperation procedure."

Little will probably also remain of the intended inclusion of new and important sectors of political cooperation among the Ten (not within the EEC) such as in the areas of security policy, culture, internal security and standardisation of further areas of the law.

This proposed "voting on security issues" and the drafting of "common European attitudes in this sector" have been reduced in the new list of objectives of the Act to a "coordination of the standpoints of the member states regarding certain political, economic and security aspects."

In a departure from the original draft, the whittled-down document defines the new scope of activity for the Union. This now contains some suggestions from the French government memorandum on a *relance européenne* (European revival) and the "Mandate Report" of the EEC Commission, which also proposes a re-orientation of the Community.

The comprehensive "European Act" as originally drafted by Genscher's aides was conceived as a treaty on a European Union. It was to have been reviewed by the Council of Europe five

years after being signed "with the aim of summing up the progress made in a European Union Treaty."

Here, too, not all member nations are prepared to go along. Some insist that such progress be institutionalised only in "an adequate form."

But time is running out. The current council president, O. Danc, has made it clear in the Parliament that European cooperation must prove itself on the basis of the existing treaties.

The Genscher-Colombo initiative is still under review by the council, he said, warning against "hasty reforms of the existing treaties."

In the first half of 1983, when Germany assumes the presidency of the council, Genscher will be able to speed things up and, perhaps, crown his six-month term as president with the finalisation of the Act.

That would, of course, be his last chance because the nearing second direct election of the European Parliament would in all likelihood bring other issues to the fore that would require undivided attention.

There is, for example, the draft treaty that the institutional committee of the European Parliament wants to work out and make the control campaign issue. The Greeks will succeed the Germans in the presidency; and since this will be their first Community presidency, they will be unlikely to want to tackle such a complicated project.

Thus, the Bonn government's vaunted European initiative has already been greatly watered down.

It is, in fact, by no means sure whether the project will ultimately be known as "European Act". No agreement has so far been reached, according to Genscher, on the title of the proposal "aimed at making the comprehensive

political goal of a European Union conspicuous for all."

It is also possible that some member nations would like to have the Genscher-Colombo initiative swept off the agenda through a "declaration of principles by the heads of state or government."

If this were to happen, very little would remain of a project that was started with so much fanfare.

In any event, the Parliament is sceptical towards this gesture which was first put before it.

Several of the parliamentary groupings at the time called a Commission to fight the economic crisis and the improvement of the Community decision making processes the most pressing tasks in developing the EEC further.

Even the Liberals, who were the most favourable towards Genscher's initiative, stressed that the European Parliament was already working on reform proposals for the Community and, above all, on moves that would strengthen its role. By implication, this meant that the Euro-MPs counted on Genscher's Colombo's support.

This is another acid test coming next spring when the institutional committee is to present its draft treaty to the Council of Ministers and the public.

That will perhaps also show whether the strategy is more credible and hence whether in the long run: that of Genscher, who has faced the public with public relations effect — plans to whittled down behind closed doors — or that of the old Europe hand Alfons Spinelli.

Spinelli enlisted the support of many Euro-MPs from as many political groups as possible before persuading the Parliament to appoint a committee that is assigned special tasks and that now gradually drifting proposals likely to find a majority before presenting them to the public at the next election in 1984.

*Detlef Pohl*  
*(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 August 1982)*

## The froth flies over German beer regulations

saltpetre and various sulphur compounds.

Considering that the Germans are world champion beer drinkers with an annual per capita consumption of 150 litres, it is not surprising that foreign brewers would like to capture a share of this mammoth market. They consider the German regulations as a protectionist measure favouring domestic brewers.

The Brussels EEC Commission agrees, arguing that the law hampers free trade within the Community. A protest to this effect has been lodged in Bonn.

But Germany is adamant. It points to a passage of the EEC Treaty whereby measures aimed at protecting the health of the people are justified and do not conflict with provisions governing free trade.

To substantiate this, Bonn has commissioned a number of research institutes to analyse the chemical additives in foreign brewed brands.

Though the results have not yet been

issued Brussels has already intimated that they will not make it abandoned its standpoint.

If there were something wrong with non-German beers, the Brussels European Commission or foreign customers order craters argue, the people to the country of origin would already have suffered from harmful effects.

Moreover, they say, nobody is trying to stop the Germans from continuing to brew according to their own recipe and they are expected to do so to protect other beers to compete on the market.

Exactly this, however, is what German brewers want to prevent. They fear that foreign beers will be sold at considerably lower prices which would be unfair competition.

They maintain that it is doubtful whether foreign brewers — especially those at borders — will be able to compete in competition.

Since both parties are sticking to their standpoint there is no end of the "war" in sight.

In any event, Bonn and Brussels have entrenched themselves for a long dispute.

There is even a possibility that members of the European Court of Justice will one day have to down a glass of beer — purely in the line of duty.

*Hans-Willy Bode*  
*(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 August 1982)*

## INDUSTRY

## Armaments, a business with an uneasy conscience

Robert Oetting, an IG Metall shop steward at Blohm + Voss, inkos a view of the headlines Benann's Of Frigates in *Vorwärts*, the So was first put before it.

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Armaments jobs are extremely dependent on short-term political decisions," the working party notes. They fluctuate heavily on account of domestic demand and unstable international markets.

This applies not only to the Hamburg shipyard and components for the *Leopard* tank, which between them account for about 70 per cent of turnover. This heavy reliance on arms trade or shipbuilding orders invariably fluctuates, while at Blohm + Voss "armaments has come to account for an increasingly large share of overall turnover," as the working party puts it.

IG Metall, the trade union that covers most of the companies concerned, reckons there must be between 200,000 and 250,000. Herr Brzoska estimates the current number to be about 240,000.

The number of armaments workers has been on the decline for years and has only just regained the 1971 level. Turnover, on the other hand, has skyrocketed.

The trade is still in a phase of expansion, says Herr Brzoska.

"Output for the Bundeswehr's third procurement wave is running flat out, while arms exports continue to increase. Economically, technologically and, above all, politically the outlook for the West German arms trade looks magnificent."

Yet Herr Brzoska and his West Berlin colleague Christian Wellmann feel a crisis is round the corner, and they list several reasons why:

● Bundeswehr procurement programmes, such as the 122 frigate and the *Leopard* tank, are due to end in a few years' time.

● Public funds are no longer available. The cupboard is bare and additional arms purchases are unlikely, especially as funding current programmes is proving problematic.

● Greater emphasis is placed these days on relatively less expensive armaments that take less time to manufacture. Military men are increasingly doubtful of the value of sophisticated systems liable to break down. Besides, next to no-one can afford them.

Should domestic sales take a tumble, exports would be the only way out. Already at least a fifth of the output is exported. Submarines and guns made in Germany sell well; turnover last year totalled at least DM2.5bn.

In the export stakes too Germany is in fifth place, trailing the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain. Only about 30 per cent of arms ex-

Then come AEG and Siemens, each of which he estimates to do about DM2bn worth of arms business a year. These three are head and shoulders above the rest.

Next come Krauss-Maffei, Munich manufacturers of the *Leopard* tank, with arms turnover totalling about DM1bn.

The remainder includes both well-known names in the arms business, such as Rheinmetall, Krupp-MaK and the major shipyards, and companies less known for their stake in the arms trade.

They include Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen, the DSHL group in Nuremberg and commercial vehicle manufacturers Magirus-Deutz, MAN and Daimler-Benz.

MAN and Daimler-Benz hold equal shares in MTU, the motor and turbine manufacturers who come fifth on Brzoska's list.

The extent to which individual firms are dependent on arms business varies widely. It accounts for 14 per cent at AEG and a mere six per cent at Siemens, as opposed to three quarters of turnover at Krauss-Maffei.

Given difficulties in deciding which companies are involved in the arms trade, it is hardly surprising that estimates of the numbers employed in it vary widely.

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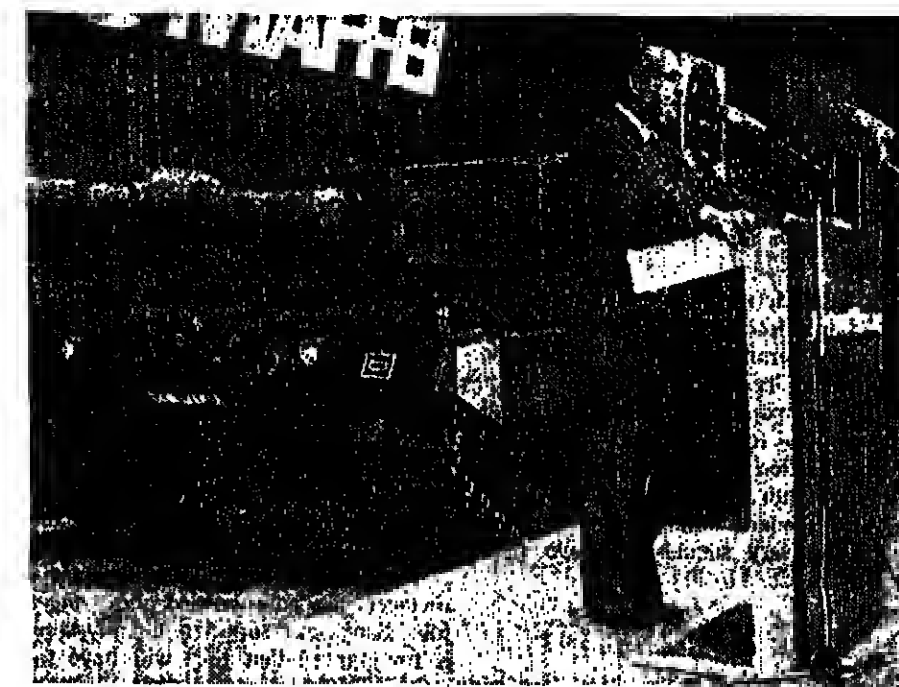
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Defence Minister Hans Apel hends over the first *Leopard* II tank in 1979.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

ports goes to other Nato countries. Third World countries are the best customers. And manufacturers are keen to do even more business with them.

The Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats, realising that the trade may soon be in trouble, issued revised arms export regulations last May that relaxed previous restrictions.

It remains to be seen whether they will do the trick. For one, competition in world markets is growing increasingly tough, especially now that third world countries are in the running.

Brazil, for instance, exported armaments worth more than \$1bn last year.

For another, countries that have been good customers are increasingly running out of money.

Herr Wellmann says even an unprecedented arms export drive would only partially improve the position. Demand has declined so drastically that even the most ruthless salesmanship could not offset the decline.

At the companies concerned even a partial improvement would be more than welcome. On 12 December 1980 about 1,000 Kiel shipyard workers look to the streets for the sake of job security. They demonstrated to try and persuade Bonn to allow their company, Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft, to build submarines for Chile.

For shipbuilding workers at Blohm + Voss in nearby Hamburg that was the last straw. The idea of West German workers clamouring for arms deliveries to a fascist regime prompted them to set up their working party to look into alternative products.

They were motivated by both moral considerations and worries about their own jobs. Arms means jobs is a slogan that is more than too simple, they feel; it is wrong.

Who can blame them? Short-time working is about to be reintroduced for about 2,000 Blohm + Voss workers.

They put forward as only one of their arguments the theory that the arms trade is a job killer because orders fluctuate. They also claim that:

● It promotes inflation because the income generated is not matched by available goods manufactured.

● It is a waste of research and development potential with serious consequences for industrial structure as a whole and, finally,

● It is not even a booster for civilian production.

The working party aims to prove "there are enough civilian products we could manufacture without suffering the disadvantages of forfeited qualifications, lower wages and loss of jobs, taken into account specific circumstances at Blohm + Voss."

They set great store by environmental protection, commodity recycling, energy technology and capital goods for the Third World.

They have visions of drawing up a masterplan for securing Hamburg's energy supplies including the manufacture of new power stations by Blohm + Voss.

The company has already built power stations and the working party feels it still has manpower with the know-how, its development division is underemployed at present.

Another idea is to design and build wind power stations for use on board ships. The management feel this is an interesting proposal in a shipbuilding context. Oetting also mentions landing systems for countries without port facilities and braking systems for tankers.

The response to such ideas and activities has been divided. The shop stewards feel they have now, after initial scepticism, largely convinced their workmates.

They are also convinced they are largely responsible for having persuaded the management to reveal details of its plans for civilian product lines.

Yet they are well aware of the fundamental problem. "The lads are devoting thought to matters that ought not to be their concern," he admits.

Herr Oetting has encountered trade union criticism of the bid. Critics accuse the working party of running a kind of think tank for the management rather than debating arms problems from a political angle.

IG Metall is aware of the problem too. Klaus Mehrens, a leading union official, says trade union activity on the shopfloor cannot possibly solve the disarmament problem on its own.

Disarmament is basically a political issue, yet debate and planning for alternative, socially meaningful products has an important part to play in both safeguarding jobs and promoting an awareness of the problem that is essential if further moves are to be undertaken.

Lucas Aerospace in Britain is an example of how activities of this kind can ease pressure on jobs. The staff drew up alternatives to arms manufacture which the management consistently rejected, but redundancies were stopped as a result.

The idea has caught on in Germany. Working parties have been set up at Krupp-MaK in Kiel and VFW in Bremen.

*Mario Müller*  
*(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 1982)*



## ■ BUSINESS

## AEG-Telefunken bid to cancel debts and stave off bankruptcy

AEG-Telefunken is trying to escape bankruptcy by seeking a court-supervised arrangement to wipe out 60 per cent of its debt.

The company cannot pay its bills and has applied to a Frankfurt court for a compensation procedure for creditors to be put into action.

AEG's board wants all creditors accept the very smallest to have their claims reduced to 40 per cent.

### Not a case for state bail out

It was a Black Monday at least at first glance: Germany's second-largest electrical and electronics company, with a payroll of close to 100,000 in Germany alone, was insolvent and applied to a Frankfurt court for a rescheduling of debt.

The proceedings provide a last chance to salvage what is worth salvaging and put what remains on a sound footing, two costly rescue attempts having failed in the past eight years.

The rescue actions cost the banks a total of DM1.5bn in waived principle and interest payments.

But the net result was nil. The banks went on too long with their artificial respiration. With smaller debtors, they are much swifter in turning off the credit tap.

In the case of AEG, there are some DM5bn worth of loans at stake for the 25 banks involved; and many of these banks could themselves have troubles on bad debts of this size. So they decided to throw good money after bad.

New, however, it is in the interest of the banks' depositors, borrowers and stockholders to put an end to it.

By resorting to the court, the AEG board and the banks have simply abided by their avowed determination to settle the crisis in the spirit of free enterprise. And this is how it should be.

They would have caused enormous damage to our market economy system had they adopted the trade unions' call for the state as a rescuer.

The taxpayers' money cannot in the long run save unprofitable jobs. And there is much to indicate that Bonn acted with economic common sense by restricting itself to offering a guarantee that would facilitate a free enterprise solution rather than assuming the role of rescuer (by nationalising the company or buying an equity in it).

Settlement of the AEG crisis in the spirit of private enterprise is particularly necessary: the crisis is due primarily to poor management and too much union opposition to rejuvenation bids.

The unions will also play a key role in efforts to save and make profitable again those sectors that are still viable: capital goods, with a payroll of 60,000.

This is the point to which AEG will have to slink.

Only if the trade unions, the staff representatives on the supervisory board and the works council summon the courage and the common sense they have lacked so far will 9 August 1982 not be a Black Monday in the close to 100-year history of AEG.

Franz Speck

(Rheinische Post, 10 August 1982)

The board's plan must be approved by creditors holding 80 per cent of the firm's debt. The procedure would give AEG a breathing space in which to restructure.

This latest trouble for a company which has been constantly in financial deep waters over the past few years, comes just before its 100th anniversary next year.

Many of the company's 120,000 staff members are now worried about their jobs. Banks and suppliers already take it for granted that they will have to write off 60 per cent of what owed to them.

The insolvency of AEG-Telefunken marks the failure of the most spectacular rescue action in Germany's post-war corporate history.

The court application is intended to usher in a new beginning for the company, but it is a bitter and tragic event that will do immense damage to the reputation of German business abroad.

For Heinz Dürr, a Stuttgart entrepreneur who was appointed the company's chairman two-and-a-half years ago in a last rescue bid, this is the greatest defeat of his career.

How did this last desperate step come about? The resuscitation attempts, which in the past two years had cost the company's banks DM2bn and meant the lay-off of 30,000 people, were not enough.

And even Dürr's efforts to motivate the staff could not offset the years of mismanagement by his predecessors when the company's reserves were gradually eaten up.

As a bank manager put it, the money that was poured in from the top just flowed out again at the bottom.

Only a radical new beginning could have put AEG-Telefunken back on its

feet. This would have had to be a rehabilitation involving several industrial partners and much of the risk would have had to be shifted to Bonn and the state government.

This was the original intention, but it didn't happen. No sooner had the banks agreed on a new energetic rescue than Bonn put a spanner in the works by refusing to issue a federal guarantee at this point on the grounds that such a move called for a thorough evaluation by outside auditors.

Nobody could blame Bonn. It had previously put AEG-Telefunken on a pedestal as a prime example of rehabilitation through the forces of free enterprise.

When Bonn announced that the audit was unlikely to be completed before the autumn, the banks raised a huge rumpus.

Six of the 24 banks forming the rescue consortium opted out.

The rest gave the impression of being prepared to go ahead. But the moment the issue of financial participation by the individual banks was raised they were unable to agree among themselves.

The work force (represented by the works council) had backed Dürr in his decision to cut back on social benefits and had endorsed some of the proposed lay-offs in a decision that went against the grain.

But when it came to the equity participation of the British General Electric Company the works council suddenly decided to oppose the management in a trial of strength.

It demanded that the British company be turned down, arguing that there would be even more lay-offs if it were given an equity.

Shortly before the company applied to the court for receivership, the works

## Court hearing means end of rescue plan

cent equity in Telefonbau und Normalzeit.

Forty-nine per cent of the profitable cable technology and distant communications sectors were held (20 per cent each to Mannesmann and Bosch and 9 per cent to Allianz).

Three major banks indirectly participated in the office machine firm Olympia, acquiring 49 per cent, while Bosch bought a 20 per cent equity.

A cooperation deal in the tools sector was signed with Peugeot, and a minority equity in Teldix was sold.

Another 7,800 jobs were made redundant in the German-based operations in 1981. Exceptional earnings of DM430m (sales) and the waiving of bank claims worth DM240m enabled AEG to close 1981 with a balance sheet less of only DM24m. Pension claims were cut by two-thirds in a deal made with the Works Council.

There were essentially three things that aided AEG. The huge debts called for annual interest payments of close to DM650m. The domestic appliances sec-

council approached Chancellor Schmidt, asking that Bonn buy an equity or that it nationalise the company. As if this approach could have had the staff cutbacks.

Months of public discussion that preceded the court application never undermined faith in the viability of the company still further, and business, especially in the home appliances sector, declined even further.

To make matters worse, the promised cash injection by the banks failed to materialise and pending this Bonn was also unprepared to come up with the promised export guarantees. As a result the company simply ran out of money.

Although Dürr cannot be absolved of responsibility, the main blame lies with past management.

Dürr's initial and quite viable concept of splitting the huge concern into opening it up to industrial partners came very late. And the inability of banks to agree among each other in Dürr's move too late.

What was at stake, he said in an interview with *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, was his personal credibility.

The remark was clearly addressed to the banks which had asked him to take over the company's reins in the face of a place and now forced him to resign as bankruptcy court.

How is it to continue? AEG will maintain its production in sectors where demand is strong and profitable. This means primarily in electrical goods.

With a payroll of only 60,000 by the end of the year, the company will be able to continue. Unprofitable sectors — primarily household appliances — will be faced with a new tide of lay-offs.

Though Dürr intends to carry on much of his initial faith in him has been lost. And Dresdner Bank Chairman Hans Friderichs, who is AEG's supervisory board chairman, has also not come out of the debate unscathed.

What will remain of AEG, Germany's second-largest electrical concern, will be no more than a pitiful remnant.

Anton Hunger  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 August 1982)

## THE ECONOMY

## The crystal-ball gazers wonder where that turn-for-the-better got to

Business and economic researchers agreed in the spring that if interest rates declined and wage deals were struck, the economy would improve. The improvement would come through higher profits and increased investment.

But the conditions for improvement have not been met. Even the current account has been balanced sooner than expected. But the slump continues.

Perhaps the dyed-in-the-wool economists, who said that the market was over-saturated, were not far off the mark.

There are certain goods like electrical household appliances that have long been taken for granted in every home and are no longer being bought — except for replacements.

The fact that this saturation theory is only the right most of the public still like the things. But the economic situation and tight money make it impossible to replace.

High interest rates have declined about three per cent in the past few weeks against the level of about a year ago. They are still about 30 per cent higher than they were four years ago.

At the same time, available household incomes are going down while real outgoings, like heating bills, are rising. Private consumption de-

clined last year and is likely to continue to drop.

Though not exactly desirable, this has been accepted by the politicians, whose attitude is that improved real incomes should be prevented so that industry should have money to invest.

But while incomes have gone down, investment has not gone up. In spite of government subsidies designed to stimulate it.

Industrial output fell still further and orders in hand in mid-year were below the same period last year.

Foreign demand is declining still further. This was inevitable in view of the stagnating world trade and the import barriers that have been put up by the USA, Britain and France.

It is understandable that sales prospects both at home and abroad are anything but rosy. German investors are delaying investment projects and so prolonging the slump.

All this makes it clear that there will be no growth (adjusted for inflation) this year.

The fact that Commerzbank's Walter Seipp is convinced that there are more businessmen than generally assumed now on the brink of launching investment projects is not much of a consolation. They have been poised longer than they originally intended.

Several years of investment restraint have, naturally, caused a need to catch

up. While the purchase of a new machine or a new car can be postponed for a couple of years, this cannot be done for much longer because normal wear and tear makes replacement necessary.

Yet the moment at which the replacement has to be made has been postponed time and again.

New even the most incorrigible optimists see no upswing before next spring.

The president of the Standing Conference of Chambers of Industry and Commerce, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, says there are signs indicating a repeat of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The wave of protectionism in the USA and elsewhere, embargoes and generally restrictive policies hardly help to stimulate world trade and boost the economy.

But this is only one side of the coin. Declining tax revenues in this country, together with a high state debt and the resulting high interest payments by the public sector, make it impossible to boost the economy through government investment programmes.

In view of this situation, it is not hard to predict that even next year will bring no more than a slight recovery. There will be no genuine breakthrough towards growth.

Anton Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 August 1982)

## Unemployment still rising

The jobless figures for July hit a record: 1,757,437. This means that the 1.8 million monthly average unemployment forecast by the president of the Federal Labour Office, Josef Stiglitz, has almost arrived.

The budget has been drafted on the assumption that the annual average of unemployment for this year would be 1.75 million.

There are plenty of reasons for the present unemployment rate of 7.2 per cent. The slump continues, and as usual in the summer months of recession years, industry hesitates to hire new staff.

And school leavers born in the high birthrate years are now crowding the labour market, which can only absorb some of these young people.

Explanations for rising unemployment are matched by recipes for a cure. There are those who demand job creation measures by the state, with an emphasis on people working less.

Bonn has been studying the possibilities but has not yet come up with the results. This would suggest that the if everybody worked less there would be work for all argument is not conclusive.

There can be no denying that unemployment is a consequence of poor economic performance — be the woes home-made or imported from abroad.

Shorter working hours without reduced pay would be doctoring the symptoms without curing the root of the illness, the recession, which increased labour costs would only aggravate further.

Gerhard Weck

(Rheinische Post, 5 August 1982)

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What has happened to the German economy? And where is it going? This economic perspective was written for *Wirtschaftswache* by Professor Dr. Herbert Giersch, who is director of Kiel University's department of international economics, one of the five institutes which draw up economic predictions for the Bonn government.

1. In retrospect the 50s seem to have been economic miracle years for Germany, the 60s golden years worldwide and the 70s difficult.

The 80s are running a grave risk of becoming sad years and, if we let our hearts sink further, years of depression comparable with the 30s.

2. Growth came naturally in the 50s because readiness to work, save, invest and set up in business was neither unduly encouraged nor hampered by organisational or governmental power.

It was brisk because the relationship between real earnings, productivity and interest rates enabled millions of people to achieve their ambition: jobs that grew increasingly productive.

The *Wirtschaftswunder*, or economic miracle, occurred because people produced more than the parties to collective bargaining dared to share out in advance, thereby leaving enough capital to invest in the future.

3. The 60s became golden years by virtue of an economic policy innovation. Overall economic controls in the United States led to a demand backlog that gave European companies an opportunity of putting productivity potential to maximum effect by means of mass production and division of labour.

This potential was enriched by technology imported almost free of charge.

Once again more value was added than society as a whole was prepared to lay claim to in advance. The result was still more new jobs and calls for migrant workers to meet the demand.

4. Then came the venture on to thin ice. Instead of quantity, people clamoured for quality. Instead of economy they wanted ecology; instead of productivity, justice; instead of progress, security; instead of the individual, the collective; instead of the materialistic, the humane; instead of the free market economy, political arrangements; instead of spontaneity, regulated provisions. Such was the change in the system of values.

5. Europe also went through the end of overvaluation of the dollar and the end of inexpensive technology imports. Since the oil crisis labour productivity has seemed less important than energy productivity.

What was available for advance distribution in the annual round of wage talks without affecting the employment situation was reduced to a minimum.

But because everyone behaved as though it was business as usual, partly as a result of irresponsible guarantees of full employment, jobs went to the wall that earned less in profits than was shared out in advance.

Many jobs were only kept going because they were subsidised by the taxpayers' money.

In the short term the disproportion between productivity and wages was offset by inflationary pressure on real interest rates, but the malaise has been self-evident ever since the drug of inflation has had to be discontinued.

There is not enough power to generate new jobs in Germany, unlike in the United States, where real earnings have declined, thereby enabling about 20 million people to find new employment.

6. Wages ought not to continually be mentioned whenever unemployment arises as an issue. Yet even if this point

## PERSPECTIVE

# Facing up to changing economic realities

has been taken, other prices that are wrong have assumed taboo proportions.

They include farm prices, rents, the cost of study and exchange rates, or used to include exchange rates.

In volume planning terms the diagnosis sounds equally unsatisfactory. At the going real wage rates in Europe there are not enough competitive jobs.

There is also a shortage of capital, of enterprising businessmen, of able executives and of innovative engineers and specialists. What calls for courage to face the future no longer seems to be worth the trouble.

7. In other sectors there is a surplus: too many people without regular jobs and too much red tape in government, in market organisations and lobbies and in companies.

This unproductive surplus is financed by wage-earners who are first paid more than the fruits of their labour is worth, then have to pay so much in tax and social security that they wonder whether it might not be better to join the ranks of the taxless or transfer to the parallel economy.

8. Everyone in Europe is hit by the loss

of dynamism that has arisen because wrong incentives have prompted people to want the wrong things.

They are being led in the wrong direction, away from the management outlook and off to the rear, where there is more administration than activity, more orders than order, more prescription than cure, more talk than study and more taking than giving.

In this way incentives are promoting a social security outlook that will doubtless before long be transformed into a fine-sounding philosophy of life.

9. In the circumstances there can be no ruling out the possibility of slower growth leading to a steady decline in living standards.

What can be done? Little benefit can be expected from the old trick of applying pressure on interest rates to offset inordinately high real earnings.

Capital markets have grown so sensitive that a mere increase in unemployment prompting rumours on money policy will tend to push market interest rates up.

So in the short term a step in the opposite direction would seem to be called

for. The way to cut interest rates is to ease the burden on the wage front.

In the longer term rehabilitation therapy is required. There must be a return to an order in which levels of motivation are restored.

10. Taxation must be simplified. Sides that offset each other in effect must be abolished. Otherwise merely hamper individual initiative must be gradually abolished.

Ministries and bureaucracy must be abolished that politicise life and actively decline the individual's income to handle his own affairs.

Laws and regulations that make setting up new businesses more difficult must be suspended. State monopolies including the postal, must be abolished.

Private competition must be allowed to run alongside public undertakings, ranging from the railways to the postal service.

There must be a free choice between several rates in the compulsory security system and more competition in all regulated sectors, including aviation.

There must be greater freedom in trade in regions where industrial structures are ageing.

Is this a mixed bag? Why yes, because so much is overgrown and paralysed.

Is it politically feasible? No, certainly not until people clamour for an opportunity to revert to natural growth.

Herbert Giersch  
(Wirtschaftswache, 30 July 1982)

## A depressing thought: is it 1929 again?

turn for the worse since he assumed power and embarked on fresh economic policies.

In Germany too, where economic controls have been used sporadically if at all, the optimism that was widespread last spring has long vanished.

If this done so largely because investment and exports, the two mainstays of any economic recovery, have for months gone into reverse.

The best indicator of economic trends over the next three to six months is industrial order books, and they look none too good.

Adjusted for inflation, domestic orders for capital goods in May were 10 per cent down on the low level of December 1981.

Export orders for capital goods were down to their lowest level for 19 months and nearly 15 per cent lower than six months beforehand.

So there are no signs of a definite improvement in the economic outlook. German industry may be more competitive than it used to be because of the dollar's high exchange rate, but it remains hard-hit by economic difficulties in other Western countries.

Other countries may be less dependent on exports but their industries are equally down in the dumps.

Recession is so universal that no single country seems able any longer to trigger sufficient growth of its own to stage a self-sustaining recovery.

This lethargy will doubtless continue to have the most serious repercussions on the labour market and government budgets, the sectors it has already hit hardest.

This winter will probably be marked by world unemployment at a level that

would have been considered unthinkable even 12 months ago.

The public sector borrowing requirement will then, for that and other reasons, break all records, as US trends already indicate.

In Washington the US Congress revised its estimates of the budget deficit in fiscal 1983 and 1984 on account of the decline in economic prospects.

Congress expects the debt to be per cent higher than previously forecast next year and 100 per cent higher by year's end.

So there is no further leeway for economic booster programmes to stimulate either demand or supply.

What can economic policy-makers in view of such gloomy prospects, assuming they are not resigned to looking on regardless as the economy heads for rock bottom?

A joint bid by all industrialised countries to a world summit would be a good idea, which is assuming increasingly dangerous proportions, would appear to be the only promising approach.

This would mean, for one, that government deficits would need to be controlled in a coordinated manner, even if the price of defence spending cuts in defence budgets have been largely ignored.

That would be the main prerequisite for concerted action to cut interest rates, which are much too high for economic recovery.

If the West were only prepared to join forces on this there would be a genuine chance of preventing worse from happening.

But egoism prevails over common sense in the European Community. Trade war is waged and family and preoccupation America, Europe and Japan in one sector after another.

Hopes of politicians changing spots, like the proverbial leopard, are jointly arriving at long-term economic perspectives will probably be in vain.

Hans Georg Lindner  
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 31 July 1982)

## ASTRONOMY

# Programming the death of a star and the birth of a supernova

The test runs took months. The computer made the star die, but the man who programmed it, Dr Wolfgang Hillebrandt, did not take it in Cray 1, the fastest electronic computer in the world.

A few oscillations from what was left must be suspended. State monopolies including the postal, must be abolished.

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In diameter yet comprising the mass of one and a half suns. A neutron star has been born.

Its matter is so densely packed as to bear comparison only with atomic nuclei. The matter that collapses, travelling at a speed of tens of thousands of kilometres a second, smashes against this nucleus, sending a powerful shock wave back to the outer shell of the dying star.

The shell has not previously noticed, as it were, that it is falling apart inside, but the shock wave blasts the shell to bits as soon as it hits it.

It does so at an initial speed of roughly 10,000 km per second, and this explosion is what astrophysicists mean by a supernova.

Computer simulation failed initially to have this effect. The shell was unaffected by the implosion inside the dying star. Dr Hillebrandt's bid to simulate the supernova was foiled.

"In such a complex process," he explains, "so many factors play a part that you are obliged to resort to mathematical simplifications with even the most sophisticated computer."

"As a result the crucial effect may unwittingly be frustrated."

Three US scientists two years ago supplied the key to a partial solution when they worked out by computer how a star with 10 times the mass of the Sun aged.

They came across a curious phenomenon. Heavy stars of this kind have a life-span of 40 million years at most. As "red giants" they begin by developing a small, dense nucleus of neon and allium.

It has a density of 5,000 tons per cubic centimetre and a temperature of about seven billion degrees centigrade.

But about 85 per cent of the star's matter, consisting of hydrogen and helium, is spread round the remainder of the volume as an air cushion, so to speak.

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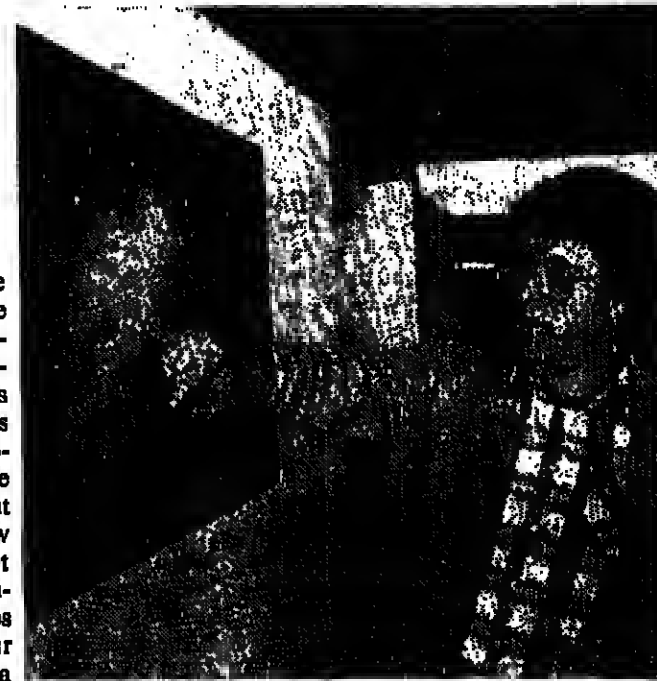
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Claus-Dietrich Möhrke  
(Rheinische Post, 12 August 1982)



Unlooking mysteries of the universe... Dr Wolfgang Hillebrandt  
(Photo: MFC)

## New telescope to see into dark corners

### STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

A new radio-telescope will help German and US astronomers to learn more about how stars and galaxies originate and how energy is generated in the process.

Staff of the Max Planck Radio-Astronomy Institute, Bonn, and the University of Tucson, Arizona, have reached agreement in Munich on construction of the telescope.

It will have a dish antenna 10 metres in diameter that will be the first made of synthetic material rather than aluminium, says the Bonn Institute's Peter G. Mezger.

Astronomers should be able to take a better look at the far corners of the universe and to see for the first time the early development stages of stars in the making.

This has not so far been possible because optical telescopes were unable to penetrate the dense clouds of gas and dust in which stars and galaxies take shape.

Optical observation of galaxies has revealed little or no measurable radiation on wavelengths that can be received. This is because stars and galaxies in the making are cold gas and dust clouds of temperatures of nearly minus 263 degrees centigrade.

They emit radiation on wavelengths of less than a millimetre only, and all that can be seen in conventional telescopes is black spots.

That, says Professor Mezger, is why scientists have decided to develop a telescope in the sub-millimetre zone.

It will cost about DM7m and be built, after trials, on Mount Lemmon, north of Tucson, probably in 1985. The Krupp Foundation is to contribute DM3.5m, the Max Planck Institute DM1.5m.

The Americans will foot the rest of the bill, and to offset their smaller share of the capital investment will be footing more of the annual bill of at least DM600,000 to run the telescope.

Jürgen Geisler  
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 August 1982)



## ■ SPACE RESEARCH

## Third World countries tune in to the possibilities of satellite communication

The East bloc has abandoned its opposition to satellite TV programmes for direct reception.

Developing countries are less worried that survey satellites of the Landsat category would merely help Western commercial exploitation of their natural resources even more efficiently.

These are two of the points to emerge from the second United Nations space conference, Unispace '82, in Vienna.

Conference findings are to be drafted as a report for the UN General Assembly and for member countries.

In 1968 representatives of roughly 70 countries met for the first UN conference on space research for peaceful purposes.

This conference had 140 national representatives.

In 1968, there were few differences of opinion between the industrialised and Third World countries.

The great powers were the givers, the others the takers, and this was more or less accepted. Yet there was a widespread feeling at the conference that the UN had a major part to play.

The United Nations, it was felt, could help to ensure that the benefits of space research were available to all countries in equal measure and that space would be used strictly for peaceful purposes.

But this optimism was wishful thinking. The great powers had no intention of abandoning their military ambitions and the disputes between them showed their chief consideration to be expansion of their respective power.

The United States, for instance, was most upset by Soviet announcements of plans to set up an intercontinental system of communications satellites.

It would be in direct competition with the Intelsat system, which is largely controlled by the United States, and Washington saw the announcement as a political affront and a bid to upset the Vienna conference.

Times have changed. Third World countries are much more keenly interested in space research. Several satellite systems have proved extremely useful.

A major experiment in India in 1975 showed that communications satellites could be used to relay educational TV to even the remotest areas of a country.

Satellite communications are beneficial not just over long distances but also wherever the infrastructure is not fully developed.

In Indonesia, for instance, twin national satellites, Palapa 1 and Palapa 2, have served as a bridge between the islands for some time.

Last but not least, the photos taken by survey satellites in the Landsat category can be used for a wide range of purposes in developing impassable terrain.

These advantages are indisputable even though satellites are not always as useful or as unique as their advocates claim.

About 140 countries now use communications satellites, while over 220 ground stations directly receive photos relayed by meteorological satellites.

Nearly 40 countries have already joined Inmarsat, an international organisation for satellite communications at sea, and over 100 countries use Landsat data in prospecting for natural resources and other commodities.



Landsat data can already be received directly in a number of countries. They range from Argentina to Thailand and from Canada to China and Australia.

The second UN conference, Unispace '82, in Vienna was attended by 140 countries keen to reach agreement on international cooperation.

The conference findings are to be drafted as a report to be submitted, with recommendations, to the UN General Assembly and member countries.

Agreement was largely reached on a handful of issues that were previously controversial.

The East bloc has abandoned its opposition to satellite TV programmes for direct reception now that reasonable terms have been agreed.

The developing countries are less worried than they were that Landsat photos would merely help Western companies to locate and exploit their natural resources even more accurately and completely than beforehand.

But that still left controversial topics that were hotly debated in Vienna.

James M. Beggs, head of Nasa, the US national aeronautics and space administration, recently told a Congressional sub-committee what the major differences of opinion between the United States and the Third World were.

He did so in connection with an evidently most intransigent US attitude that was sure to trigger disputes.

The draft conference report included, for instance, proposals for an international satellite system for geological surveys or for the United Nations to be given extra powers of coordination.

Mr Beggs said that from the US viewpoint existing international cooperation must first be outlined and probed and

other options carefully considered with due regard for national objectives and requirements before setting up extra international institutions was discussed.

At the same time he was not prepared to give an assurance that the United States would continue to supply reconnaissance satellites.

He said the conference had no right to insist on national operators giving assurances in respect of reconnaissance systems that were not yet operational.

This might be true, but it was understandable that an end to developments would be most unsatisfactory for the Third World countries.

Due partly to US propaganda, they had invested large sums of money in the Landsat project. President Reagan is trying to find a private operator for Landsat but is having difficulty in finding anyone.

The French see an opportunity of competition here. In 1984 France is to launch its first own reconnaissance satellite, Spot.

Esa, Japan and India, likewise have more or less specific plans to go in for reconnaissance satellites.

Differences of opinion are no less substantial on communications satellites, which are usually put into a geostationary orbit 36,000km above the equator, where they appear to stand still in relation to the Earth.

A number of developing countries are now worried the industrialised nations will station more and more satellites over the equator, leaving them no room in which to follow suit.

That is why they insist on their interests being borne in mind here and now and even lay claim to sovereignty over geostationary positions above their territory, which is ruled out by the terms of international space agreements.

Mr Beggs said the US delegation ad-

## International collaboration 'essential'

wake of the US Voyager series, is due to probe Jupiter, also in 1986.

● Rosat, a project shared with America and Britain, is due to probe the X-ray spectrum of the entire sky from 1987 and will, it is hoped, discover several hundred thousand new X-ray sources.

The Federal Republic of Germany is also associated with development work on the ERS-1 European reconnaissance satellite, an Esa project.

Germany's contribution will mainly be the manufacture of micro-wave sensors. The satellite will be used primarily in climate research, geology and prospecting for natural resources.

The emphasis will be on problems faced by the developing countries.

Satellite communications, Herr Haunschild said, was a firmly established sector in which space technology had borne fruit. Bonn's first contribution had been the Symphonie

vocated access for all countries to stationary orbits but opposed any kind of pre-emptive arrangements.

They would, he said, run counter to constructive solution such as allocating new frequencies.

The United States as the West's leading space research country had a long time of it in Vienna, especially as Europeans have now set up in competition.

Topics the Afro-Asian delegates proposed for the conference were largely identical with issues the United States was reluctant to discuss.

Many demands made by the Third World countries were wildly exaggerated and showed scant sense of reality, but the United States was called upon to answer them.

The Reagan administration seems likely to make any serious concessions. Even the Europeans have been recently snubbed recently.

In one instance President Reagan refused to allocate funds for a joint agreed research programme to study the solar system beyond the ecliptic.

US credibility was called into question before the conference even began when the United States said it was going to give an assurance in Vienna that it was an arms race in outer space.

Many military satellite systems are undoubtedly necessary to global peace, but it is alarming to see so many military men at the helm of institutions that glorify violence.

When a complaint is registered the agency must decide whether or not to blacklist the publication or cassette. If it blacklists all that happens is that advertising is banned and it may only be a matter of time before the counter.

Even so, magazines that have been blacklisted are usually withdrawn from circulation by the publishers and distributors.

The deluge of film cassettes that glorify brutality and violence is really worrying us," says Claus Grubecker, parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry of Youth Affairs.

If it were to succeed, the West as a whole would be the loser, not just the United States.

Günter Paul (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 August 1982)

Risk of fascist views being spread through video.

It is sure to come up for discussion in Vienna when the Protection of Young People Bill is dealt with at committee stage in the Bundestag.

Publications about which complaints are filed are blacklisted in 8 out of 10 cases, but Bonn feels the consequences are insufficient.

The video boom has reached such proportions that no-one can say for sure what turn developments may yet take.

Ministry officials are undecided on how to make legal provisions to cover the video market, and the Bill mainly deals with how old young people must be before they can smoke, drink and go to the cinema or disco.

But attempts are to be made at combating what is seen as a danger to the youth.

Asked whether the growing number of complaints about cassettes would lead to an increase in the number of people handling them, Herr Grubecker preferred not to give an immediate answer.

He admitted that the agency had

## ■ COMMUNICATION

## Video cassettes give more work for the guardians of youthful morals

The Bonn government agency that vets publications harmful to the young is run on a shoestring.

It has a payroll of three civil servants and four other officers: six in all, as two are only part-time work. But they cannot complain of having nothing to do.

They used to spend most of their time dealing into pornography and pulp material and showed scant sense of reality, but the United States was called upon to answer them.

From 1954, when the agency was set up, until the late 60s up to 500 complaints a year were handled: almost entirely pornography.

Then the number of cases reported declined, reaching an all-time low of 58 in 1976. Maybe it was a sign of the times: of slackness, of a more liberal outlook, of changes in taste.

But the number of complaints has since increased to between 300 and 400 a year. This year there will be many more; a single local authority youth department has filed 744 complaints.

Most complaints these days are not about porn mags but about video cassettes that glorify violence.

When a complaint is registered the agency must decide whether or not to blacklist the publication or cassette. If it blacklists all that happens is that advertising is banned and it may only be a matter of time before the counter.

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He admitted that the agency had



much more work on its hands but merely said the Ministry was considering ways and means of helping it to carry out its work properly.

Procedures must be effective and the cost in terms of manpower and other

expenditure must be in a reasonable relationship to the benefit.

But he agreed that young people must be afforded better protection from portrayals of violence and brutality. Experts had repeatedly said how dangerous scenes of violence and murder were.

The effect on impressionable young minds had been lately emphasised at the international congress of school

psychologists in Stockholm.

According to findings submitted in Stockholm, he wrote in his answer to a parliamentary question, 45 per cent of schoolchildren question said they preferred video programmes that featured brutality or porn.

Since they next to never talked with their parents about what they watched there was, the experts said, a serious risk of young people developing a fascist world view.

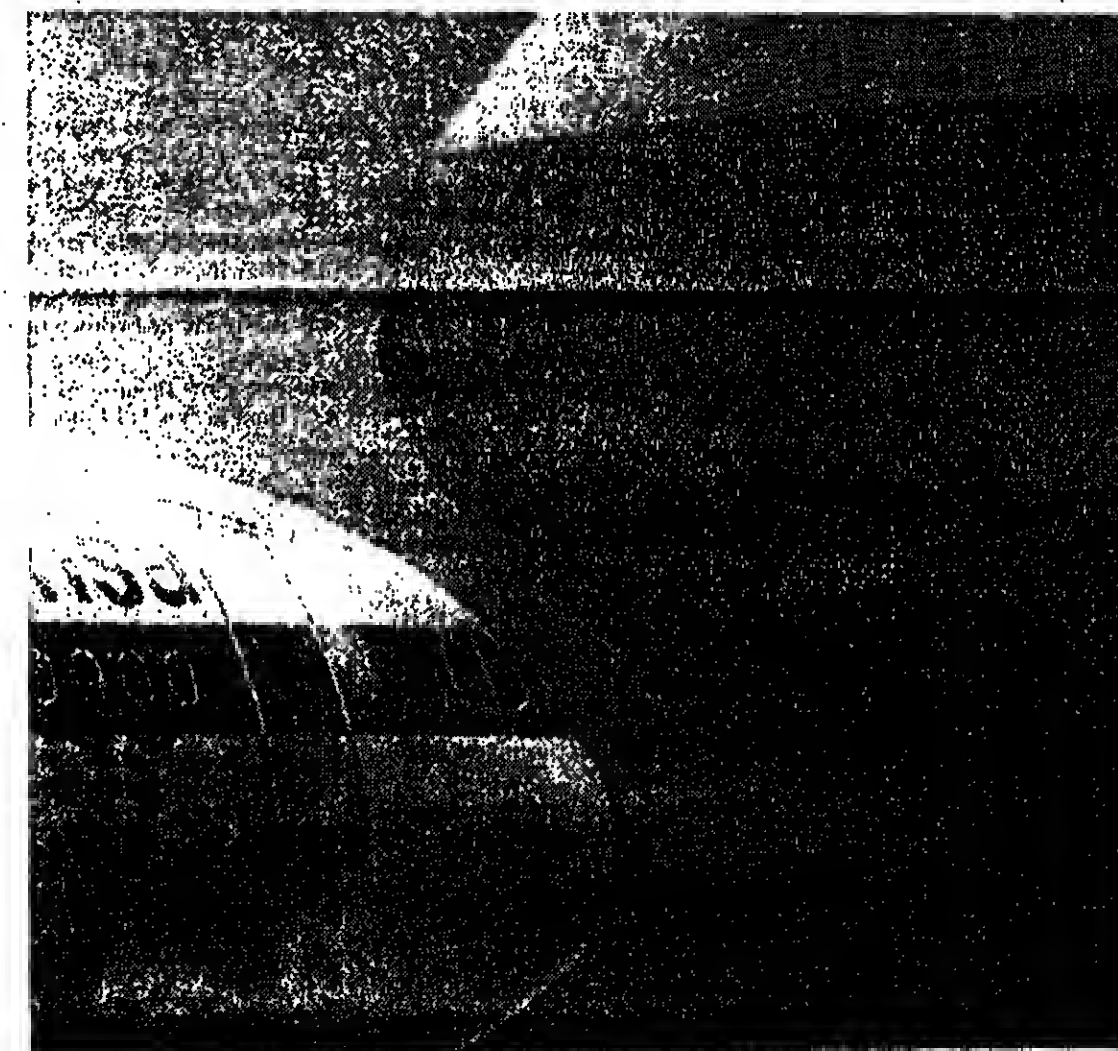
Herr Grubecker, Social Democratic MP for Bremen, said that in his view the risks of video cassettes must be seen in connection with signs of growing right-wing extremist potential in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ada Brandes

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 August 1982)

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Air Transport World (New York) No. 1/1981



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## FOLKLORE

## Eulenspiegel, the eternal joker, hero and rebel

Doctor Faustus, the dabbler in black magic from Knittlingen, survived because Goethe's two-part epic ensured him immortality.

Till Eulenspiegel, a farmer's son from Knittlingen, near Brunswick, did not need such an august literary patron to steer him clear of oblivion.

To this day every German child can tell a tale or two of Till Eulenspiegel, the artful jester who outwitted mediaeval adversaries by the score.

In Mölln, near Lübeck, where tradition has it that he was buried, there is a bronze statue of him in his jester's attire sitting cross-legged with thumbs up and a grin all over his face.

He was, by all accounts, a popular hero, an indestructible individual who

Siegfried H. Siehtermann, *Die Wandlungen des Till Eulenspiegel*, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne and Vienna, DM78.

never gave up and constantly doled out wit and ridicule whenever he was in trouble.

For centuries he has been a figure with whom the common man, and children in particular, have felt able to identify.

They are still jubilant when he is said to have taken everyone literally and made fools of them. Eulenspiegel has unquestionably survived.

He is more than a match in popularity for his fellow-veteran of centuries-old folk tales, Doctor Faustus, the Swabian alchemist.

Eulenspiegel is so popular a folk hero that he has been claimed by many as a kindred spirit. He is said to have been a hired labourer who staunchly defended the interests of his class.

He has been seen as a hero of freedom and an eternal rebel, an anti-Christ, worldly wise and even, in the Third Reich, the embodiment of a combative outlook on life.

Today's advocates of an alternative life style have adopted Eulenspiegel as the original political freak and dropout who refused to knuckle under to social compulsion.

Marxists claim him as a comrade in the class struggle and representative of the early bourgeois revolution. But a figure to whom all lay claim can elude them all.

When one reads the 95 tales in the 1515 Strasbourg edition, Brunswick customs clerk Hermann Bote's Till Eulenspiegel will be seen to be more than just an amusing and artful dodger.

He is a scintillating figure and extremely hard to classify, although various interpretations are possible if tales are selected accordingly and others ignored.

How can then be stylised both as a positive provocateur of feudalism and a figure who stands firm against his racial background?

But there can be little doubt on one point. Till Eulenspiegel seems to have been the most argumentative know-all of all time.

He stopped short at nothing to have the last word and outshine an adversary, not even at costing his own excrement.

It is strange and surprising that Eu-



Eulenspiegel as described by Bote in his mediaeval satire has been used time and again as a literary model but next to never been convincingly portrayed in artistic form.

The exception was arguably Charles de Coster, a Munich-born Belgian who wrote in French.

Siegfried H. Siehtermann, editor of the Eulenspiegel Yearbook, has gone to the trouble of collecting adaptations of Eulenspiegel from Hans Sachs to Christa and Gerhard Wolf and editing a sampler from five centuries.

The result is both interesting and disappointing. Many felt called but few, apart from de Coster, were chosen to write on the subject.

Hans Sachs and Johann Fischart reduced Eulenspiegel to a superficial and narrow figure, either an efficient or a moral and didactic hero.

Wilhelm Vershofen, leader of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (a forerunner of today's Liberals) in the Weimar constitutional assembly of 1919, gave him a political role.

He changed Till into Tyli and made him a Minister who struggles in vain to set up a state based on common sense and humanity.

Günter Weisenborn in his *Ballade vom Eulenspiegel, Federle und der dicken Pampune* follows in de Coster's footsteps and takes a critical look at totalitarianism.

Fairy tales must be told and not read. They reflect the characteristics of nations, what they have in common and the contrasts between them.

Telling them is an art that few people still cultivate. Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar, 90, of Hamburg, is a fairy tale-teller supreme.

No-one who has sat and listened to her inimitable delivery can have forgotten it.

The tales she told were for adults, an art form perhaps, but straightforward and not artificial, told in the way tales used to be told by one person to another, for people who could neither read nor write.

Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar has never been a believer in telling children fairy tales. Children, she has always felt, are incapable of grasping and processing the contents.

Artificial fairy tales such as those of Hans Christian Andersen, Wilhelm Hauff and Oscar Wilde are another matter. But they were not for her; she stuck to the popular variety and to the unity of narrator and audience.

She has always preferred to sit close together with her audience, close to the ovens created by the power of the word, and the tales she told were always fascinating.

She agreed that famous fairy tales included some gruesome scenes, but they were a mere drop in the ocean in comparison with everything children saw and heard in the media.

She not only realised early that fairy

Gerhart Hauptmann also used the Eulenspiegel material, giving his treatment the baroque title *Des grossen Kampfliegers, Landfahrers, Gauklers und Magiers Till Eulenspiegel Abenteuer, Streiche, Gaukeleien, Gesichte und Träume*.

It was published in 1928, a verse epic written in hexameters, and Willy Haas said it was true and would remain true. But nowadays it seems forced in style and appears strange, not to say alien, to the modern reader.

The Eulenspiegel adaptation that has always most impressed me is the poem by George A. Goldschlag, the Berlin poet, who got Eulenspiegel the homeless, have-not, deeply lonely and restless wanderer just right:

*Ich liess sein Freund und ebenso  
Sein Feind und Widerstreiter, / Sein Heimatdorf war 'Irgendwo', / Sein Ziel war 'Immerweiter'. (I was both his friend and foe, his native place was 'Somewhere', his destination 'On and On')*

Siehtermann exercises restraint in his commentary on these adaptations of the Eulenspiegel tales. Till's immortality is due not to them but to the shorter, simplified versions printed as children's books.

Since the last war alone no fewer than 150 versions have been published. Norbert Klugmann is right in saying that if there were no longer any children's books there might well no longer be a Till Eulenspiegel.

In the final analysis we are all (and not just Till) artists at survival. What is positive and viable will survive and be handed down from one generation to the next.

What specialists in Germanic studies, psychoanalysts, sociologists and agitators have made of this popular figure will not reach the bedrock in any case.

I feel sure that people in the GDR will not allow themselves to be dissuaded from loving Till Eulenspiegel, from

## The Grand Old Lady of the fairy tale



Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar... close to her audience. (Photo: dpa)

tales were to be narrated as in days of old; she was also a past master at telling them.

She was born in Vienna and trained as an actress in Berlin, later working at theatres including Hamburg's Deutsches Schauspielhaus.

In 1913 she married Adolph Möncke-



Still the artful jester... Till Eulenspiegel. (Photo: dpa)

Let Gerhard Steiner see the folk tale as a reflection of the class struggle and Christa and Gerhard Wolf try to convince people in the GDR that Eulenspiegel is a symbol of plebeian peasant opposition. He will still be as popular as ever.

In 100 years' time a literary historian in the Nietzschean sense might conceivably publish another Eulenspiegel mythology. Eulenspiegel is sure still to be around, but will the mythology necessarily include, among its many new actors, any unorthodox classic such as Goethe?

Norbert Klugmann  
(Die Welt, 3 August 1982)

borg, a son of Hamburg's burgher Johann Georg Mönckeberg.

But her husband was killed in action in Flanders in 1914 and she went on to study literature and phonetics in Berlin and Hamburg.

When Hamburg University was set up in 1919 she was appointed, lectured in speech training and recitation. It was at about this time that she began giving recitals of her own.

She carried on working at the university, interrupted only during the Second World War, for half a century.

She married again, Wilhelm Kollmar, a businessman, but gained a reputation in 17 European countries as "ambassador of the fairy tale."

She has a repertoire of over five hundred tales and in 1923 set up a technical choir together with dance instructor Adolf von Laban.

After the Second World War she helped establish the German chapter W.O.M.A.N., the World Organisation of Mothers of All Nations, which headed for 12 years.

Generations of trained speakers and artists have been put through the paces by Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar. All have learnt something of the tale tradition of European nations.

But a successor to the Grand Old Lady of the fairy tale has yet to be found. She would have to be a woman successor, for Frau Mönckeberg-Kollmar has never been just a run-of-the-mill storyteller.

Walter Deppisch  
(Die Welt, 28 July 1982)

BFBS, the British Forces Broadcasting Service, operates from what must once have been quite a stately home in Marienburg, a high-class residential suburb of Cologne.

Entertainment, information and education in that order are, it likes to feel, the services it provides for the 160,000 BAOR servicemen and their families who have been stationed in Germany since 1945.

BFN, as it was known for decades, helps to maintain the Rhine Army's links with Britain and tries to give servicemen and their families a feeling of being at home in Germany.

When you enter the BFBS villa in Marienburg, you might be surprised for imagining the staff have just moved in.

Cardboard boxes are piled here and there and all the doors are wide open so that people within shouting distance don't have to constantly communicate by telephone.

BFBS has in fact been based here for 30 years and the informal atmosphere is typical of a place where everyone, from the director-general to the janitor, is on first-name terms.

The atmosphere is most definitely British, and that's how they like it in this daily British enclave in the Rhineland.

The director-general, Richard Norton, 54, runs operations from the top floor of the building next door. He is vice-president of the British Forces Broadcasting Service but is slightly embarrassed by the term.

"Sounds more important than it is," he says, and his office certainly has no pretensions to being an executive suite. There is neither a fitted carpet nor leather armchairs, let alone a

front office with two or three secretaries; just another open door with a handwritten nameplate that reads: R. C. Norton.

At BFBS not a penny is wasted on trying to impress visitors. The station proves on the FM or, as the British say, the VHF dial that a fine broadcasting service can be run on a shoestring.

Countless Germans tune in to BFBS, the smallest radio station in Germany, rather than to German transmitters. They must do for it to reach a daily audience of five million.

Westdeutscher Rundfunk, also based in Cologne, transmits on three frequencies in North-Rhine-Westphalia, reaching 8.5 million listeners.

Südwestfunk in Baden-Baden has an audience of 6.8 million all over the country, while Radio Luxembourg reaches 4.8 million.

The British Forces Network began operations from the Musikhalle in Hamburg on 29 June 1945 and in its heyday had a payroll of over 200.

It ran three orchestras, including a tango orchestra for which Bert Kampfort worked as a 22-year-old. But then came the first economy wave.

The orchestras were disbanded, the payroll was reduced and Hamburg wanted its Musikhalle back too, so BFN moved to Cologne in 1954.

The cathedral city was a convenient

## THE MEDIA

## Where Britannia still rules the (radio) waves

choice for various reasons. The Parkstrasse villa was already in BAOR use as an officers' mess.

At nearby Butzweiler Hof an RAF base provided ready access to recorded material from London, while BFN could also share the transmitter facilities of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk, as it then was.

Until the end of March this year BFBS was answerable to the Ministry of Defence in London and its staff were civil servants.

"As the government is drastically cutting the number of state-financed civil servants," Mr Norton says, "it has started where it feels civil servant status is least warranted."

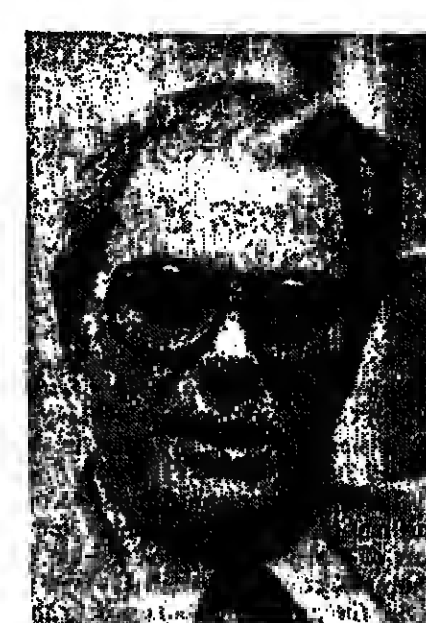
So BFBS has been merged with SKC, the Services Kinema Corporation, a foundation that supplies British forces cinemas with films and the BAOR with educational material.

The joint venture will be known as SSV, or Services Sound and Vision Corporation, and BFBS staff are in the process of negotiating fresh contracts.

Mr Norton hopes the change-over will be accomplished with cuts of no other staff nor pay.

He will hear nothing of allegations that BFBS merely intensifies the isolation of British service personnel and dependants in Germany.

"That's quite untrue," he says. "We



Richard Norton... no trifle. (Photo: Sabine Sauer)

try very hard to help our listeners to integrate. They learn a lot from us about Germany: politics, the people and the country, entertainment and sport.

"We regularly broadcast reports of Bundesliga soccer games. Many British servicemen support their local German soccer club."

But BFBS is carefully to exercise restraint in connection with German politics: "We may tell our listeners that Herr Schmidt, say, has flown to Washington to do something or other, but we take good care not to comment on the purpose of his visit."

During our talk we have strolled over into the canteen, a tiny attic reminiscent of a pub, with ham and cheese sandwiches.

Continued on page 15

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## ■ OUR WORLD

## Goethe Institute steps up its programme

The Goethe Institute, West Germany's counterpart to the USIS, the British Council or the Alliance Française, is stepping up its activities in the United States.

The expansion planned from Goethe Institute head offices in Munich forms part of the Bonn government's bid to improve German-American relations.

But the programme endorsed by the Foreign Office has been hamstrung by Finance Ministry cuts. The Goethe Institute is not allowed to hire extra staff, and budget cuts are a constant drawback on current expenditure.

Staff shortages are a serious handicap. The Goethe Institute, with branches all over the world, is an ideal field worker in cultural diplomacy.

In promoting cultural exchange it does exactly what Bonn has in mind, fostering a better understanding of Germany and the Germans abroad.

But in Munich the problem is seen as one of plugging one gap after another.

There are Goethe Institutes in Kabul and Cairo, in Rostenburg and Rotterdam: 150 in 66 countries. They teach German, provide information about the Federal Republic of Germany and establish and maintain cultural links abroad.

The Goethe Institute is for countless people all over the world their first encounter and point of contact with the German language and German culture.

It works on behalf of the Bonn Foreign Office and is a linchpin of cultural diplomacy at home and abroad. Last year 25,000 people from all over the world and in all age groups attended Goethe Institute German language courses in Germany itself.

It is headed by Klaus von Bismarck and has a full-time staff of about 2,700. In 1980 its budget was DM167.5m. In many countries it faces tough opposition from the Herder Institute, which is run by the GDR.

with insufficient funds and manpower. Says Jürgen Ohlau, in charge of foreign activities:

"We are having to call a halt to work in other countries in order to step up activities in the United States. We have to draw the staff for new branches in America from somewhere or other."

Staff transferred from Goethe Institutes elsewhere are earmarked for three new projects in the United States:

● In Houston an office is to be converted into a fully-fledged new Goethe Institute with the emphasis on lending a helping hand to more German teachers at US colleges.

● In Los Angeles an office is to be opened this autumn; it too will form the nucleus of what will later, it is hoped, be a full-scale branch.

● In Seattle another Goethe Institute facility is to be set up in autumn 1983.

At present there are Goethe Institutes in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York and San Francisco.

Their task is to give teachers, journalists, scientists and artists in particular a



Klaus von Bismarck... the man at the top. (Photo: Sven Simon)

clearer idea of the present-day Federal Republic of Germany.

Special importance is attached to collaboration with college teachers of German. Last year close ties were maintained with about 12,000 teachers at 2,000 colleges.

They in turn teach about 380,000 students German. So the number of people reached is substantial.

It is impressive to learn how many Americans visit exhibitions and special events at the Goethe Institute. Last year hundreds of thousands saw an exhibition on Germany in the 19th Century.

In Boston preparations are under way for a programme on Berlin, a topic on which local people have shown keen interest. It will include films, lectures and platform debates.

Special programmes designed to reach a wider public include German months on local radio.

Goethe Institute staff in the United States cannot complain of lack of interest by the American public.

But despite the commitment and goodwill of the staff there are limits to what can be done. The three new US projects exhaust Goethe Institute capacity not only in the United States but worldwide.

"We had hoped to do more in the United States," he says, "but what we now plan is the most we can do under our own steam. Any more will depend on more appointments being paid for by Bonn."

Four more new Goethe Institutes in the United States were originally planned. They were assigned priority by the Foreign Office, which was enthusiastic about the entire programme.

Then the budget axe fell and the Finance Ministry cut the programme to ribbons.

Martin S. Lambeck  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 5 August 1982)

## Old people return to university to learn about the third age

Retirement, known in France as the third age, need not be a period of inactivity and decline. Frankfurt University has launched courses for 50- to 80-year-olds to enable them to put to better use the eight hours a day they no longer spend at work. More than 400 senior students have enrolled for courses this winter semester, and the number seems sure to increase.

Old people don't have a career to keep them busy. Even if they had, they couldn't keep up with the pace young people seem to manage.

Friends of a lifetime fade and die. How do they come to terms with this? An impressive bid to find the answer is in progress at Frankfurt University.

On the Initiative of Professor Anitra Karsten of the department of social pedagogy and adult education, who has taught gerontology at Frankfurt for 15 years, a variety of departments have joined forces to help the old.

A university for older people is not in itself a new idea, but at Marburg, Dortmund and Oldenburg, lectures are given on conventional medical issues of geriatrics, such as age-related eye complaints, cancer and growing old and what it entails.

At Frankfurt the emphasis is on social changes in the third age of man. Professor Karsten and her enthusiastic associates want not only to provide educational facilities.

They also plan to go through topical problems with their senior students, thereby learning more themselves.

The Frankfurt courses, which began in June and have so far attracted about 300 old people, deal with issues such as pensions, the views on life of old and young, consumer habits of older people and understanding between the generations.

The first intake of senior students came from the Rhine-Main region, from the Palatinate, from Karlsruhe and Kaiserslautern, and they did more than just sit and listen.

They bombarded the lecturers with queries and kept them on their toes.

Or so says Klaus Dinges. He and Gisela Brendt run one of the working parties at which the older students voiced dissatisfaction with the situation of old people and dealt with the activities provided for them.

Men and women between 50 and 80 are often told to try senior citizens'

clubs, but the activities they provide are institutionalised isolation. Dinges calls interest only 30 to 40 per cent of them.

What usually happens is that young dictate what has to interest old, so an aspect emphasised by working parties was how old people feel about the changes undergone in old age and how they experienced the phenomenon.

Both sides found they needed to overcome prejudice: both students and staff on the one hand and the senior students on the other.

Topics covered included general conflicts, leisure activities in old age, the woman's role then and now, sexuality in old age, the importance of the old for the economy and housing and living conditions of the old.

This winter seven university departments will deal with these issues in greater detail, while last semester's lectures will be continued. Attention will also be paid to collaboration between young students and their older counterparts in seminars and working parties.

Lawyers and economists, sociologists and educationalists, psychologists, theologians and medical all plan to learn more about old people by working with them and not just reading books about them.

Old people are still very upset about what in Germany is referred to as an unresolved past, meaning the Third Reich, which is a topic political scientists might, for instance, go into.

The old are keen to make contact with younger people. They suffer from isolation. This, says Professor Karsten, is an aspect Frankfurt University psychologists plan to look into.

Analysis has generally been limited to people under 40 or, say, 50. It has thus dealt largely with conflicts between parents and children.

What, then, about grandparents? There are so many other issues. Age is only as old as society makes you to be.

German society tends to push the old to one side, to deprive them of functions and to give them a feeling of being useless and valueless.

Frankfurt's Third Age University has set itself as a major task that of harnessing the experience of the old. Their experience is a valuable because they are differently sensitised, as Herr Dinges puts it, and have their own outlook on life.

The aim is to look into all aspects of this phenomenon and to incorporate it in academic theory.

"Local authority planning for the old would be sure to be different if it were drawn up in conjunction with old people themselves," says Gisela Brendt.

Since senior students who are helped to pioneer the project want not just to consume information but to make contribution of their own there are plans to draw up a model aid to the scheme.

Empirical material is also to be collected for pre-retirement courses, present these courses, intended to ease the transition from work to retirement, are based on vague, outdated and unscientific material.

Age is an increasingly topical issue. The United Nations has just held a

## CHILDREN

## Communes polish up their image, but are they really ideal to grow up in?

Children who grow up in communes used to be described as lacking in commitment, lacking in personal ties and asocial.

The children lacked stable relationships at an early age and had to come to terms with a succession of different parents and a chaotic daily routine. Communes have now improved their position. There are more than ever. In 1960 there were about 10,000. On each has five or six adults and two children.

There are couples who have lived in communes for a decade, and their children have nearly grown up in them.

How they develop and what distinguishes them from children of nuclear families, has never been empirically studied.

Prof. Dr. Erhard Richter in *Erziehungssysteme* (Educational Systems) and Bettelheim in *Kinder der Zukunft* (Children of the Future) deal in their observations and conclusions with other civilisations.

Psyche 8/80 Werner Münsterberg, a psychoanalyst, warns of amoralisation and "libido diffusion".

In extended family of a commune he said, create emotional confusion among very small children, while "libido diffusion" might occur when so adults took turns to look after them.

Erhard Richter takes a different view. "All kinds of family patterns," he has said in an interview, "also occur in a commune. But the unique aspect of the commune movement is not its measurable success to date but the direction in which it is moving."

It will depend on how children grow up in communes develop.

Continued on page 14

A 17-year-old Cologne youth had a drug, alcohol and theft record when he was sentenced by a juvenile court to do socially useful work and handed over to the probation officer.

He was lucky. Juvenile courts can impose social work sentences where it is possible. There is a special project in Cologne.

Since it was begun two years ago, the number of fines and prison sentences imposed by juvenile courts in the city has declined by a third.

Social service sentences have been imposed three times more often than they were before the facility, *Die Brücke*, was set up.

Last year alone it succeeded, or was instrumental, in averting prison terms or fines for 1,500 youngsters.

When it was launched in 1980 *Die Brücke* was only the second institution of its kind in Germany. There are now five more in a number of cities.

All aim to breathe life into the option juvenile courts have of imposing social work sentences.

They arrange for young offenders to work in charitable institutions that help the old, the handicapped or the young, in hospital and for the church.

They supervise the delinquent's work and offer a helping hand with their clients' personal and private problems.

They thus ensure, says project manager Erich Marks, that the work sentences fulfil their educational purpose.

Until 1980 Cologne, like most other

Viennese psychologist Christof Gaspary has investigated 28 countries in connection with nearly 80 variable factors and found that psycho-social stress (criminality, illness, suicide and divorce) is more frequent the smaller the family unit is.

Countries with a high economic performance have smaller family units and more psycho-social stress.

The reverse also applies. Where the extended family is still intact, economic performance motivation is low.

But these are mere hypotheses and theories. People who live with children in communes take a different view. They tend to see matters less in terms of black and white.

Claudia has a son, 2, and has lived in communes for 10 years. Her son was born in a commune consisting of five adults and an older child.

"He has grown up here like an only child," she says, "but he has lots of uncles and aunts, and he doesn't like all of them equally. He makes very subtle distinctions in his relationships with them."

Greta has a daughter, Jutta, who is now six. She too has lived in communes for 10 years, mostly in one consisting of nine adults and three small children.

Jutta, she says, used to be very close emotionally with other members of the commune. "When someone moved out she was upset for months, but she has now learnt to look after herself and not feel so lost."

"She may be a little young to do so at six, but I feel sure she will one day have a strong ego."

Gisela, with 12 years' experience of communes, has two children, aged 2 and 5. She feels they show signs of

growing talent when it comes to behaving diplomatically.

"There are often times when they wrangle their way round all the adults," she says. "You have to take care to ensure that educational principles are upheld."

"With all the will in the world not all the adults can always know what is currently allowed and what is prohibited."

"As a result even the child's parents let more exceptions through and are no longer as consistent in imposing sanctions."

To begin with, says Claudia, all adult members of the commune tried to help bring up the children. Their parents first had to object.

"When you live in such a public manner you tend to become extremely touchy and vulnerable," she says.

The practical consequence was that no other member of the commune was allowed to interfere in how the children were brought up without first asking their parents.

People seem to feel that communal living will relieve the burden of parenthood. Apparently this is not the case. The children still remain one's own and one is solely responsible for them.

Babysitting arrangements that ought to be a matter of course do not always work because adults whose turn it is and who don't have children of their own tend to be unreliable and lay claim to spare time of their own.

"But in an emergency they all prove a great help."

There can be no generalisations about how strongly children are influenced by living in communes, all three mothers agree. It depends, for in-

stance, on the ratio of adults to children.

If there are too many adults and too few children the kids tend to be incidental, and care has to be taken to ensure that they are done justice.

If there are too many children and too few adults stable relationships are forged among the children, better relationships than between brothers and sisters even.

But separation can be as painful as when brothers and sisters are torn apart in divorce cases.

All told, the three women feel, living in a commune does not leave its imprint on children. They are, indeed, better able to evolve their individual characteristics than in nuclear families.

Above all, they are not always at the centre of interest.

Anneliese Patzwaldt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1982)

Continued from page 13

ches, hamburgers (not unduly British) and beer.

This is where, say, Richard Nankivell recovers from his three-hour daily stint as a disc jockey.

He is currently BFBS's favourite programme presenter. For many young service wives whose husbands are on duty in Northern Ireland he is a lifeline.

He plays cheerful music, is full of helpful hints and bright ideas and tries to cheer up Valerie from Mönchengladbach and Susan from Rheindahlen and all the other wives who phone in.

Is there any truth in the claim that BFBS pop music programmes have prompted German stations to transmit livelier programmes? Mr Norton is delighted by the question but much too difficult to say yes.

But Hessischer Rundfunk in Frankfurt admits to having taken a long hard look at BFBS programmes from Cologne before deciding the programme makes-up of its Third Programme, a blend of pop music and services.

Rainer Nolden

(Die Welt, 27 July 1982)

## Communal work alternative to imprisonment

German cities, lacked both the manpower to handle social work of this kind and staff to keep an eye on young offenders who were likely to get into trouble again.

Neither youth organisations nor the probation service, which looks after about 600 youngsters per member of staff per year in Cologne, were in a position to do so.

The 10 full-time *Brücke* workers (they include an educationalist and four social workers) liaise closely with the public prosecutor's office and juvenile court judges.

Since June last year they have succeeded in persuading the authorities to drop proceedings in 184 cases before charges were preferred.

The public prosecutor referred the case to the social service rather than to the court, preventing unnecessary expense and speeding cases by several months.

About 90 per cent of young offenders referred to *Die Brücke* come voluntarily, often on the day of referral, although most are sceptical initially, says Renate Menzel.

(Rheinische Post, 26 July 1982)

LECTURE HALL



(Cartoon: Musil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

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Ulrike Fuesl  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 July 1982)